

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7858

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USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 36561

NESCO

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UNESCO, OCON, PORG

SUBJECT: UNESCO 19TH GEN CONF: SUMMARY WRAP UP OF
IMPORTANT POLITICAL ISSUES

L. THIS SUMMARY WRAP UP FOCUSES ON MOST PRESSING OF US OBJECTIVES AT 19TH UNESCO GEN CONF HELD IN NAIROBI. THESE INCLUDED FIVE FUNDAMENTALLY IMPORTANT POLITICAL ITEMS WHICH WERE DEBATED AND RESOLVED THERE INCLUDING ISRAELI ISSUES, NAMELY ISRAEL'S MEMBERSHIP IN THE EUROPEAN REGION, EXCAVATIONS IN JERUSALEM, AND EDUCATIONAL POLICIES IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, AND OF DISPOSITION OF SOVIET INSPIRED DECEMBER (1975) DRAFT DECLARATION ON USES OF MASS MEDIA, AND THE DRAFT DECLARATION ON RACE AND RACISM CONTAINING REFERENCE TO UN RES 3379 EQUATING ZIONISM AND RACISM.

2. IMMEDIATE US OBJECTIVES HAVE BEEN MET SUCCESSFULLY ON MASS MEDIA ISSUE. WEO'S AND MODERATE LDC'S THREW BACK REPEATED SOVIET ATTEMPTS TO FORCE SUBSTANTIVE DEBATE ON TEXT OF DECEMBER DRAFT DECLARATION FIRST IN COMMISSION III AND THEN IN THE DNG WHERE IT HAD BEEN SENT AFTER FLOOR FIGHT OVER PROCEDURAL DISPOSITION OF ITEM. TACTICAL MANEUVERING IN DNG TO POSTPONE DIS-
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CUSSION OF ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF MASS MEDIA QUESTION

AND AT SAME TIME AVOID REOPENING DEBATE IN PLENARY PRO-
DUCED RESOLUTION SUPPORTED BY LARGE MAJORITY IN PLENARY
WHICH INVITES DIR GEN TO "PROCEED TO NEW AND
BROADER CONSULTATIONS WITH EXPERTS" AND MERELY "TAKES
INTO ACCOUNT" INFAMOUS DECEMBER DRAFT DECLARATION AS
WELL AS SEVERAL OTHER WORKING DOCUMENTS WHICH HAD BEEN
EXAMINED BY DNG. THUS DECISION ON ITEM HAS BEEN
SUCCESSFULLY POSTPONED UNTIL 20TH GEN CONF.

3. US POLICY OBJECTIVES WITH RESPECT TO DECLARATION ON
RACE AND RACIAL PREJUDICE CONTAINING REF TO RES 3379
WERE ALSO FULLY MET WITH ITEM ALSO BEING POSTPONED
UNTIL 20TH GEN CONF. IN FACT, PRINCIPAL FIGHTS ON THIS
ITEM HAD ALREADY BEEN WON DURING FALL 1975 EXBD WHICH
HAD DEBATED ITS PROCEDURAL DISPOSITION AT LENGTH. CON-
CLUSIONS THERE, SUBSEQUENTLY ADOPTED BY 19TH GEN CONF
WITHOUT FURTHER DISCUSSION, WAS DIRGEN SHOULD CONTINUE
CONSULTATIONS ON ITEM OF SUCH IMPORTANCE DURING NEXT
BIENNIUM AND PRESENT NEW DRAFT DECLARATION TO 20TH
GEN CONF FOR ITS CONSIDERATION.

4. MOVING TO ISRAELI ISSUES, OVERRIDING US CONCERN
(AND PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE) TO SEE ISRAEL A MEMBER OF
EUROPEAN REGION RESULTED IN UNQUALIFIED SUCCESS. PRE-
ARRANGED TACT SPELLED OUT BY FALL 1975 EXBD THAT
REGIONAL MEMBERS THEMSELVES BE FREE TO DETERMINE OWN M
MEMBERSHIP PROVIDED OPTIMUM THEORETICAL
SOLUTION WHICH IN END ALSO WORKED OUT PERFECTLY IN
PRACTICE. GEN CONF PRESIDENT SIMPLY NOTED WITHOUT
FURTHER DISCUSSION BEFORE PLENARY THAT AS RESULT OF HIS
CONSULTATIONS WITH REGIONAL GROUPS ISRAEL HAD BEEN
ADMITTED TO EUR REGION BY MAJORITY VOTE, AND THAT
FIVE OTHER NEW UNESCO MEMBERS AS WELL WERE ADMITTED TO
THEIR RESPECTIVE REGIONS BY UNANIMOUS CONSENSUS. THIS
SETTLED THE ISSUE.

5. ON REMAINING TWO ISRAELI ISSUES, POLITICAL DEAD-
LOCK BETWEEN ARABS AND ISRAEL OVER WHAT WOULD CON-
STITUTE AN APPROPRIATE SOLUTION HAS PRECLUDED US
OBTAINING (VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE) OBJECTIVES
OF STRIKING REFERENCES TO PREVIOUSLY ADOPTED RESOLU-
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TIONS PERTAINING TO SANCTIONS AND WHAT WE CONSIDER
UNDUELY HARSH AND OFFENSIVE LANGUAGE. FINAL TEXTS OF
RESOLUTIONS WHICH SURFACED TO PUBLIC VIEW FROM
INTENSIVE AFRO-ARAB NEGOTIATIONS WERE NO WORSE THAN
THOSE ADOPTED BY 18TH GEN CONF, AND CONTAINED NO
CUNNING INNOVATIONS SUCH AS EXPULSION OF ISRAEL WHICH
MIGHT HAVE BEEN EXPECTED GIVEN TOTAL LACK OF PROGRESS
IN SOLVING ISSUES DURING PAST TWO YEARS AND IN VIEW OF

WHAT OBSERVERS CONSIDER GOI'S UNCOMPROMISING STAND.
BASIC ARAB COMPLAINT AND POSITION WHICH LARGE BULK OF

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AFRICANS AND ALL EE'S SUPPORTED WAS THAT THEY COULD
HARDLY BE EXPECTED TO ASK FOR LESS THAN HAD ALREADY
WON AND ESTABLISHED AS "BOTTOM LINE" IN 1974, ESPEC-
IALLY SINCE THERE HAD BEEN NO PROGRESS IN IMPLEMENTING
ANY OF THESE UNESCO RESOLUTIONS AND IN ABSENCE OF ANY
CONCILIATORY GESTURE FROM GOI.

6. RESOLUTION ON OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AS IT EMERGED
FROM AFRO-ARAB NEGOTIATIONS WAS FIRST TEXT WHICH US AND
OTHER WEO'S HAD TO WORK WITH, AND AS WE WERE TO LEARN
ALREADY REPRESENTED ALMOST ALL OF WHAT ARABS WOULD GIVE.
PROPONENTS UNDERSCORED UNESCO'S PAST FUTILE EFFORTS
TO HAVE GOI BRING EXCAVATIONS TO AN END WHICH ATTEMPTS
THEY BELIEVE HAD INSTEAD BEEN MET BY EVASIVE TACTICS
(REFERRING TO TRANSMISSION ERROR IN GOI LETTER
TO M'BOW ACCEPTING HIS REPRESENTATIVE -- OMITTING
PLURAL REPRESENTATIVES -- WHICH APPEARS TO THEM AN
ATTEMPT TO REVERT TO FORMER GOI POSITION AT 11TH HOUR
THUS PRESENTING M'BOW WITH "FAIT ACCOMPLI.") FACT THAT
PLO TOOK VERY CONCILIATORY AND MODERATE POSITION ON

THIS ISSUE AFFECTING OWN PALESTINIANS HAS LIKELY
SERVED TO COMPEL OTHER ARABS TOWARD A MORE MODERATE
VIEW THEMSELVES (WHICH AFTERWARD THEY ALSO QUICK TO
ATTRIBUTE AS ARAB DUES TO "SPIRIT OF NAIROBI.")
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ARDUOUS LOBBYING AND MANEUVERING BY CONCERNED WEO'S
AND MODERATE AFRICANS TO PRODUCE A SOLUTION WHICH
WOULD STRIKE "CONDEMNING" FROM FINAL TEXT AND REPLACE IT
WITH UNGA FORMULATION WHICH "STRONGLY DEPLORED
VIOLATIONS WHICH MAY HAVE TAKEN PLACE" PRODUCED NO
RESULTS. LAST DITCH EFFORTS TO REMOVE PROBABLY EVEN
MORE POLITICALLY CONSEQUENTIAL "JUDAIZATION" PHRASE AS
WELL AS SEVERAL CONTENTIOUS STICKING POINTS HOWEVER DID
HELP TO SOFTEN FINAL LANGUAGE IN TEXT ADOPTED (THOUGH
UNFORTUNATELY RESULTS OF THESE EFFORTS WILL UNDOUBTEDLY
BE MORE ACADEMIC THAN REAL IN HARD POLITICAL TERMS BACK
HOME).

7. JERUSALEM ISSUE PRESENTED US WITH EVEN LESS ROOM
FOR MANEUVER AS FINAL TEXT WHICH EMERGED FROM AFRO-ARAB
NEGOTIATIONS HAD ALREADY BEEN CLEANSED OF SUCH UNACCEP-
TABLE REFERENCES AS UN RES 3379 AND CALLS FOR FURTHER
SANCTIONS BEYOND THOSE ALREADY ADOPTED AT 18TH GEN
CONF. THUS THIS DOCUMENT ALREADY REPRESENTED LEAST OF
WHAT ARABS (INCLUDING MODERATES LIKE TUNISIA AND
EGYPT) AND MOST AFRICANS WILLING TO ACCEPT. FACT THAT
MANY WEO'S ALSO UNHAPPY WITH LACK OF GESTURE OR
RESPONSE FROM GOI WHICH THEY BELIEVED WOULD ENABLE THEM
TO HELP ISRAEL OUT OF ITS PROBLEMS IN UNESCO ALSO MADE
IT MORE DIFFICULT TO NEGOTIATE CHANGES IN TEXT.
ALTHOUGH EC-9, SCANDANAVIANS, SWISS AND AUSTRIANS
REFUSED TO SUPPORT SANCTIONS IN PRINCIPLE (SUCH AS
RES 3.427 IN OPERATIVE PARA (A) IN JERUSALEM RES)
SH AND CONDEMNATORY LANGUAGE, AND HAVE CONSTANTLY
OR HARSH AND CONDEMNATORY LANGUAGE, AND HAVE CONSIS-
TENTLY VOTED AGAINST THEM, MOST HAVE PUBLICLY STATED
NONETHELESS THEY SUPPORT WHAT THEY UNDERSTAND AS SPIRIT
OF RESOLUTION WHICH IS TO END EXCAVATIONS IN
JERUSALEM IN ORDER TO ALLOW FOR UNESCO ASSESSMENT OF
WORK AND PROVIDE SAFEGUARDS FOR PROTECTION OF
HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL CHARACTER OF JERUSALEM.

8. OUTCOMES OF OTHER LESS EXPOSED POLITICAL ITEMS
WERE ALSO VITALLY IMPORTANT OWING TO POSSIBILITY THEY
COULD BE AMENDED AT ANY TIME WITH UNHOLY 3379 OR
COMPARABLE ATTACHMENT. RESULTS IN THIS CLASS OF ITEMS
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WERE ALSO GRATIFYING. THIS ESPECIALLY TRUE OF GEN
CONF ITEMS 9 AND 10 WHICH CONCERNED COLONIALISM AND
RACISM, PEACE, AND HUMAN RIGHTS. IN FACT, DNG TO
WHICH THESE ISSUES HAD BEEN REMANDED PRODUCED A THREE
PART RESOLUTION SUFFICIENTLY ACCEPTABLE THAT US DEL
WAS ABLE TO JOIN IN A CONSENSUS ADOPTION IN PLENARY.
THIRD PART WHICH WE HAD FEARED WOULD BECOME
REPOSITORY FOR EVERYTHING SCRUBBED FROM FIRST TWO PARTS
IN FACT EMERGED A CLEAN AND ENTIRELY DIFFERENT
DOCUMENT FROM SEVERAL WILD RESOLUTIONS (SPONSORED BY
IRAQ) WHICH HAD PRECEDED IT TO THE DNG. THUS PART
DEALING WITH RACISM WHICH US FOUND IT COULD SUPPORT
WAS STRIPPED OF UNACCEPTABLE AND OFFENSIVE
LANGUAGE AND CONCENTRATED ON APARTHEID AND SOUTHERN
AFRICA WITHOUT MENTIONING UN RES 3379 OR ANY OTHER
ASPECT OF MIDDLE EAST SITUATION.

9. TO MAKE FINAL RESOLUTION ON RACISM PALATABLE TO

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LARGEST NUMBER POSSIBLE, QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN PAR-

TICIPATION IN IOC WAS SEPARATED OUT AND PRESENTED AS SEPARATE RESOLUTION WHICH US OPPOSED BUT WHICH NONETHELESS WAS ADOPTED BY LARGE MAJORITY. THE RESOLUTION SPECIFIES THAT SOUTH AFRICA NOT BE INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN ANY MEETING OR CONFERENCES OF IOC UNTIL GOVERNMENT TURNS AWAY FROM RACIST POLICIES. IN SECRETARIAT'S VIEW, THIS STOPS SHORT OF "EXCLUSION" AND THEREFORE AVOIDS ANY LEGAL ENTANGLEMENTS.

L0. CONCERNING QUESTION OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER (NIEO -- ITEM 11) DNG PRODUCED A VERY BALANCED DRAFT RESOLUTION WHICH US WAS ABLE TO SUPPORT IN CONSENSUS ADOPTION. IT REPRESENTED A SOUND IMPROVEMENT OVER CORRESPONDING ITEM PRODUCED DURING 18TH GEN CONF WHICH US HAD STRONGLY OPPOSED.

11. US DEL HAD ALSO FEARED THAT GROUP OF 77 WOULD ATTEMPT TO INCORPORATE NIEO INTO SECOND DEVELOPMENT DECADE RESOLUTION (ITEM 67). ONCE AGAIN, HOWEVER, DNG PRODUCED A BALANCED RESOLUTION WHICH AVOIDED CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES AND FOCUSED INSTEAD ON AREAS WITHIN UNESCO'S COMPETENCE. IT DID NOT DWELL ON REFORMULATION II, BUT DIRECTED ATTENTION TO PREPARING FOR DD III. CONFIDENTIAL

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OF DD II, BUT DIRECTED ATTENTION TO PREPARING FOR DD III.

12. ALTHOUGH US HAD TO ABSTAIN ON FINAL RESOLUTION ON CHILE (ITEM 76), THIS DOCUMENT WAS MUCH TONED DOWN, MODERATE VERSION OF INITIAL COMPROMISE DRAFT WORKED OUT BETWEEN NORWEGIAN REP AND CUBANS WHICH WHILE STILL SIGNALING OUT CHILE FOR VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ALSO FIXED FIRMLY ON VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN ALL COUNTRIES.

13. US DEL WAS NOT ABLE TO INFLUENCE MATERIALLY RESOLUTION WHICH REQUESTED THAT NGO'S RECOGNIZED BY UNESCO SHOULD SEVER TIES WITH "CHIANG CLIQUE." THIS RESOLUTION HANDILY PASSED OVER US OPPOSITION. DIR GEN HAS ADMITTED HOWEVER THAT RESOLUTION IN FORM PASSED IS PRACTICALLY MEANINGLESS.

14. CONSIDERING THE PANOPLY OF POLITICAL ISSUES SUMMARIZED ABOVE, THE US CAN BE SAID TO HAVE FAIRED EXTREMELY WELL.

15. ANALYTICAL ASSESSMENT WITH FORECAST FOR FUTURE HAS BEEN FORWARDED BY SEPTTEL. RUSH

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